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REPORT

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH

NATIONAL

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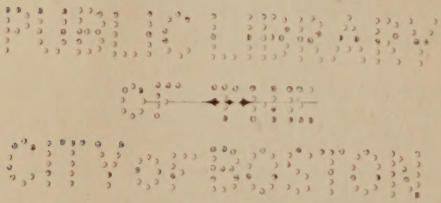

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Charles F. Atkinson.
May 16, 1905

PUBLIC LIBRARY
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REPORT

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH

National Anti-Slavery Bazaar-Festival.

The aim of this institution is at once moral, religious, political, and financial; and all these twenty-four years, it has been successful in no ordinary degree in its four-fold operation,—raising money to educate and direct the public mind, and to stimulate and strengthen the public heart: till now our United States present a spectacle in striking contrast with that shocking criminality of calm satisfaction with which they held their enslaved millions at the beginning.

We owe to all who have coöperated with us, especially to those wisest heads and noblest hearts in Europe, who have so indefatigably aided us for so long in every way we have indicated, not only an expression of our undying gratitude so fervent and so deep that even without verbal expression it could not fail to be felt by them, but also a brief account of this last year's experience and results. And if to some we seem to be merely repeating much that we have said in former years, we ask those few to pardon us for the sake of the many to whom the thoughts may be new. No persons, even in common circumstances, will find themselves speaking to the same auditory at the end of a quarter of a century, so many will be the listeners who fill the places of the distant and

the dead. But ours have been those extraordinary circumstances which destroy life like battle; which ruin fortunes; which scatter families; which separate friends: which do all this by claiming devotedness or suggesting desertion, and by drawing from the friendly and sympathetic natures in the opposite camp fresh volunteers to fill the reduced ranks. To these last we have always, at all risk of repetition, addressed ourselves, for they are the stuff of which abolitionists have always been made.

Financially speaking, this year's effort has resulted in complete success. The same stress of the times that lessened the receipts, removing in much greater proportion the obstacles, it has been, all things considered, far more practically and impressively successful than the effort of the preceding year. It is comparatively little, that a Fair of the Church should receive $10,000 for the good work of educating a hundred orphans,—a Fair for the blind the same sum for teaching the use of their remaining faculties to a hundred sightless ones,—that Fairs for church-buildings and cemeteries should draw the same from those who are to worship in the one, and to repose at death in the other. These good objects, requiring neither explanation nor instruction to recommend them, are obvious to the coldest hearts and to the narrowest minds. They neither excite prejudice nor offend selfishness, and merely appeal to the voluntary principle for ends already under the protection of individual interest, ecclesiastical patronage, and compulsory legislation.

But we have this year raised the sum of $3800, at a moment of general bankruptcy and complete commercial prostration, for an object against which Church, State, and individual interests are yet arrayed: an object so great, that out of a hundred persons, not two have the heads, and out of a thousand, not more than one has the heart to see and feel its full importance, or conceive of its collateral bearings,

until it has done years' works of enlargement and instruction in each individual nature. For ourselves, we frankly acknowledge that we are *sure* new light is yet to break upon us out of this enterprise. The prophets of the future are the splendors of the past. We began by indulging our sensibilities over an individual slave: and still we follow Sterne's good counsel to present a single case, the better to awaken the first emotion of sympathy; comprehending with Pitt and Walpole, that when we talk of millions, the size of the misery prevents the eye from seizing on its outlines till the heart has felt its acuteness.

But, little by little, our minds have been led by the sight of suffering to its cause, and enlarged by compassion to understand justice. We have begun a work for one race and one country, which we learn at length involves the well-being of all mankind. Our first thought was not to leave our own times worse than we found them: our last is, to lay aright the foundations of many generations. They must be laid in freedom: we must abolish slavery.

Our country is now so far behind the rest of the world!—and very deep was our disappointment, coming into life as we did in the persuasion, that she led the world's advance. We early resolved to change her position, in order to fit her for what she claimed.

With us here in America, no change without a change of mind; and therefore, like all other Americans, we suit our means to our ends, raising money to propagate principle.

We cannot, at this time, give a clearer account of our twenty-fourth financial effort, of 1857, than by summoning our friends in imagination, and leading them round the circle of ideas which would have been presented to their minds had they actually been with us on this occasion. It is not a mere ladies' fancy fair that we are describing to them;—it is not a trade-sale — as so many have found out who came hoping to

have obtained, in the anti-slavery ladies, merely factors furnished with the skill and taste to procure the pendant to some European object of *virtu*, which it would cost them much time and money to select in some foreign capital for themselves. But we are describing an influence of power so deeply to stir a careless heart as to unite it at once to the cause of freedom and humanity. How many have found, in this annual occasion, an opportunity for helpfulness in saving our own country and the world from that which hinders, defaces and destroys all that is good and beautiful in human nature—slavery; and the least of the harm done by that curse of the world, is what it does to the slave. By him, embruted and blighted, and through the base determination for the sake of wealth and worldly aggrandizement to keep him so, his master, North and South alike, became the Buccaneering President, the murder-loving Senator, the intriguing Representative, the false Governor, the bought-up Judge of a debased people.

And this influence which we have been describing, to which the good in our country ever join their own, is a most powerfully uniting one, drawing rank after rank of our people upward and onward, to cease only with the perfect union of the South to itself. There, as well as at the North, are clear heads and devoted hearts; with this advantage, that there, whoever will, is freer to *make* free. Who doubts that Mr. Aiken of South Carolina may free his thousand-handed gang when he will? Our first thought in conjunction with this powerful influence of Freedom was, to do what Burke and all other thinking men, whether liberal or conservative, have ever felt to be so important,—to bridge the present to the past by uniting to our own the sympathies of the preceding generation. Note one of the multitude of instances in the 'Liberty Bell' of 1845, lying on the first table after entering the hall. It contains the counsels we

sought of the venerable Clarkson for our Americans. It was of him that Mr. Garrison, the originator of the cause in the United States, and the founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, sought and received at the beginning, the blessing of a father in the cause—the blessing which rested on him to the last hour of the anti-slavery patriarch's life. This is what Clarkson said to us in 1845 :—

'This paper, which I wrote at your request, is in the form of a letter addressed to the Christian and well-disposed citizens of the Northern States on the subject of slavery. I think Mr. Garrison, if he approve it, might reprint it in his paper. I beg you would present my affectionate regards to Mr. Garrison. Our great cause is deeply indebted to him, for there was a time when it slept, and could not have been recovered, unless he had kept the flame alive.'

So thought the men and women of our earlier time. Not to cite the names of eminent men of other States and cities, we need but mention Judge Artemas Ward and John Quincy Adams, who steadily cooperated with us. We may here, with propriety, refer to the following letter, of which a lithographic *facsimile* was one of the illustrations of this occasion :—

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., Boston.

QUINCY, 28 July, 1838.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your kind invitation, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements of the Massachusetts State Anti-Slavery Society, to attend their celebration of the anniversary of the day upon which slavery was abolished in the colonial possessions of Great Britain.

It would give me pleasure to comply with this invitation ; but my health is not firm ; my voice has been affected by the intense heat of the season, and a multiplicity of applications from Societies, political and literary, to attend and address their meetings, have imposed upon me the necessity of pleading the privilege of my years, and declining them all.

I rejoice that the defence of human freedom is falling into younger and more vigorous hands. That in three score years from the day of the Declaration of Independence, its self-evident truths should be yet

struggling for existence against the degeneracy of an age, pampered with prosperity, and languishing into servitude, is a melancholy truth, from which I should in vain attempt to shut my eyes. But the summons has gone forth. The youthful champions of the rights of human nature have buckled and are buckling on their armor, and the scourging overseer, and the lynching lawyer, and the servile sophist, and the faithless scribe, and the priestly parasite will vanish before them like Satan touched with the spear of Ithuriel. I live in the faith and hope of the progressive advancement of Christian Liberty, and expect to abide in the same till death. You have a glorious though arduous career before you, and it is among the consolations of my last days that I am able to cheer you in the pursuit, and exhort you to be steadfast and immovable in it. So you shall not fail, whatever may betide, to reap a rich reward, in the blessing of him that is ready to perish, upon your soul.

I am, dear sir,

Faithfully your friend and servant,

J. Q. ADAMS.

Remark, too, on the next table, how that Scottish sympathy which has so often upheld our cause, coming to us early from a preceding generation, is true to us to the last, by a little token which graces the collection sent from Edinburgh by our dear friends of the Wigham family. It is a crimson flower-wrought cushion,* with the following inscription:

WORKED BY

THE HONORABLE MRS. ERSKINE OF MAR,

In her Seventy-Fourth Year.

A THANK-OFFERING FOR THE BLESSING OF SIGHT;—

Three of the Mar Family having been Blind.

It was Mrs. Erskine's voice that cheered us onwards from warm-hearted Scotland, when in 1835 we had just learned by its loss, the value of the liberty which the nation had compromised away, when it

* Purchased to be preserved in the family of Mrs. Erskine's correspondent of twenty-five years ago.

allowed slavery in the new republic. Called into being by the word of Freedom,—conceiving of Christianity and Liberty as one, the nation yet felt bound to return into slavery the fugitives whom it ought to have made free, to suppress every revolt against slavery springing from its own example, approved by its own feelings, and sanctioned by its own principles; and to maintain and perpetuate in the new republic a series of arrangements for converting it into an oligarchy of slaveholders. Ashamed of what they had reluctantly done, men kept and enjoined silence: and when our generation came upon the field, who have in the second quarter of the nineteenth century fought the good anti-slavery battle, they found not only millions of slaves, but a land benumbed by bondage. Presidents and Governors, Senators and Judges, chiefs of parties and heads of Colleges were all dying in the self-imposed degradation of their quiet under the wrongs and insults of slavery. The slaveholders were strong enough in the silence of those purchased lips, to make and unmake Presidents for the distribution to their creatures of the patronage of slavery, through every town and village of the land. The Slave Power thus became strong enough to make congresses and legislatures; paying their Northern members for enacting slave laws, by commercial and corporate privileges that would speedily enrich them. It silenced the pulpit; made itself censor of the press; and, playing on the subdued community, dictated through its means the downward course of schools and colleges.

Things were at this pass in 1830, when he who is called in other lands our 'great countryman, Garrison,' took the initiative in that 'new order of things' which had been merely shadowed forth when they devised the national seal by the founders of the Republic. He published The Liberator at his own cost and peril, (and heavy with his whole life's for-

tunes they were,)—instituted the American Anti-Slavery Society,—gathered round it the best and bravest in his own and foreign lands, and, strong in resolute and self-sacrificing integrity, led them openly and boldly to the assault of the great wrong to which their contemporaries were bowing down, with a determination to right it, at whatever cost of fortune, friends, or life.

It was at this moment that we felt bound by loyalty to our native land, by our religion, and by our self-respect, to give ourselves to what we at once recognized as the great battle of our generation. We saw that now, as in every true struggle with evil days, each true word must impoverish them that spoke it, and we accordingly bent a proportion of our exertions to the financial point, that types, paper and sustenance might not fail those who had shown themselves possessed of moral power to give the great word Freedom a fitting utterance. We saw that, but for slavery, our people would be united and happy, all their families enriched by industry, and all their children blessed with education, and our nation be an example to the world, and the glory of posterity: and ever since that hour, in 1834, when the first of this series of annual anti-slavery opportunities was offered at 46 Washington street, Boston, producing $360 to the cause, we have found our idea growing stronger and stronger in the hearts of our countrymen.

'What would you have, foolish women?' they at first said, with insult and violence, as they strove to mob down the rising spirit of humanity. 'The immediate abolition of slavery!' was our reply. And the word learned of Garrison sunk into the public heart like a spell.

'How are you going to do it?' was the jeering question of those who had forcibly driven us from our own dwellings for that word. 'It is you who are going to do it, when you shall have felt the sin and

dishonor of slavery as we feel them. The words were prophetic. These same men soon engaged in the struggle on the right side. The influence of conservatism for good which has flowed down from the beginning through successive generations, to remodel at need the forms of human society, and which reaches these times through the American Anti-Slavery Society as its fitting instrument, is now doing a mighty work in every State in this strange Union. Wounded and mangled by its divided life, our nation is attempting, like the fabled Zohak of oriental story, to strangle the serpents growing from its shoulders to devour its heart and brain. The intellect and the benevolence of Europe strengthening that of America, we gain perceptibly upon this monstrous and unnatural growth. We shall strangle the serpents, and save the State whose life they drain and devour. We have aroused the people to a sense of the desperation of their danger. They now begin to see, as we did five and twenty years ago, the serpent stretching after new territories, enfolding the judicial tribunals, ravaging among the statesmen, paralyzing the clergy; and they will rise more and more strongly to the contest, till the whole world is engaged. Well is the need, when one of our widest ecclesiastical influences, the American Tract Society, has begun the work of paring down Bible history to accommodate Southern men, by publishing the story of Joseph without any mention of his being sold into slavery. What will our friends in Europe think of this,—they who make Mrs. Stowe's 'Two Altars' (her sketch of the contrast between free America of 1775, and slaveholding America of the present time) one of their religious tract publications? We hail our friends in Great Britain with a double joy as they come to our aid, for their every anti-slavery word and deed are an antidote to the poison of the American snake, which would devour their freedom and virtue, as well as that

of the land out of which it springs. To France, too, in view of the late imperial and commercial slave-trade which our country's condition suggests and makes practicable, we cry, '*Il y va de ta vie!*' The ground has changed under our feet. When we began, we said, Help us for the slave's sake. Now we say, Help us for your own. It is no longer his or our cause alone. It is the whole world's progress and safety that hang on the issue.

Let the whole world, then, cheer on and sustain its vanguard of American Abolitionists, as Mrs. Erskine and the ladies of Edinburgh have done, from the date of the following extract, written in their behalf in 1836, till the present hour of her thank-offering to the cause for the gift of clear sight during her life and times:—

'With all our hearts and minds, we wish you God-speed! We cheer you onwards by bidding you remember that you are engaged in the cause of humanity, of justice, of religion, of God. We have resolved to continue our labors, ... to keep alive in this country the interest felt for yours. O that as nations we could mutually act as monitors to each other!'

We have already pointed out the gain of our agitation over apathy—the evidence of the strength of life victorious over death. Let us now note the proofs of its advance against slavery, which are visible since Mrs. Erskine's voice first reached our post of danger and difficulty, surrounded by the misapprehension of ignorance and enmity, with its full measure of ridiculous contempt. Without ceasing to be dangerous and difficult, that spot has now become the post of honor. Statesmen and leading journalists at home, and travellers abroad, are trying painfully to prove that they have always occupied it, while proving, at the same time, how unjust and unsafe it would be to grant their claim, by the pertinacity with which they ignore the Abolitionists, the better to set aside the claims of the slave, when pecuniary or political interest de-

mands. Yet they cannot choose but float with the tide our principles have raised, for great holders of Northern stocks now cry out to us, 'Why did you not, long ago, instead of warning us of the sin of slavery, tell us that it was for our interest to roll its tide backward?' But they were then building their hopes upon Alabama land-speculations, and the like devices of slavery, all dependent upon its strong, quiet flow, disturbed only by our denunciations.* Had they *then* given us large means of implanting anti-slavery feeling and principle in the North, the flood of emigration to Kansas and elsewhere had been of a corresponding character, new lands and territories of a hundred-fold value, and the American Government preserved from being, in 1858, a disgrace to modern civilization. It had been better for Northern men's fortunes *then* to have paid hundreds of thousands to Anti-Slavery Societies, than to have concerned themselves with cotton. It were better for their future fortunes *now* to pay to the Anti-Slavery Society, than either to the Emigration Society or to the bottomless pit of a political combination of which the nature is to make its candidates and its field of labor worse than it finds them. A word is all the wise need. It is not too late, if they are not too sluggish and selfish. As in business, so in Church and State, the CAUSE is seen to be the one great interest. In Massachusetts, all politics have turned on turning a selfish, unfeeling man out of an honorable office, from the hour he strove to serve slavery in a base one. And Massachusetts does but indicate the road the other States cannot choose but follow.† The slaveholding church is

*It seems to require a quarter of a century of patient labor to make men see *l' interet bien entendu*, through the hindrance of personal selfishness. All Mr. Eli Thayer says [see Appendix, No. I.] was as true a quarter of a century ago as it is now,—and as well known; but such truth and knowledge must always lie dead till a work of moral preparation of heart has been widely done, to make men strong enough for utterance and action.

† See APPENDIX, No. II.

now understood. The withdrawal of a body of men and women like the Abolitionists has left her the laughing-stock of even the secular newspapers, and without a shadow of claim to be the Church of Christ. The colonization that occupies the public mind is no longer the colonization of the negro; *that* delusion fled before Garrison and Jay. The pro-slavery parties present but a series of dissolving views. The demon who directs them is engaged in the hopeless task of making ropes out of sand. Slaveholders can no longer stir up their mercenaries at the North against the Abolitionists by an outcry of infidelity, of which every body has fathomed the purpose. Ministers, in proportion to their fidelity to our principles, become our brethren in the cause. Women, in the same measure as men, are now welcomed by the world to complete this work which it mobbed them for beginning. No teaching like the teaching of example. We have spent very few words on women's rights. It needed but to exercise them to rouse up a host of eloquent advocates. 'Wait till you see your neighbor's prodigal son lavishing or legislating away the portion of your daughter'—is all we have ever needed to say to check the scoffing men of millions who feared (and justly) that in such a State as this, where only one word in the Constitution stands between, the fruit of women's action in the Anti-Slavery Society would be woman's participation in the government. 'It is easier to change many things than one,' said the profound, observant Bacon; and we have always taken care to widen the public mind by the assurance that slavery will not fall alone. A thousand other wrongs and abuses will fall with it.

'The Christian life is a battle,' say the great forefathers of our spirit, through Puritanism and the Reformation, back to Jewry. By *that* token, the Christian life of our times is the life of the Abolitionists. Let them still count their successes by the confusion

in the enemy's camp,—by the notched and broken arms,—by the hopes and fortunes and lives thrown joyfully down to bridge the sacred way for coming generations!

Thus only shall they find all the elements made to work together. Thus only shall a great moral party be constituted, to mould the material and political interests aright,—a party which shall constitute in reality what the pro-slavery Church and its parasite institutions were mistaken for, before the guilty secret of their enslaving masonry was divulged. With such a party preparing the way, our political principle of 'No Union with Slaveholders' will soon be firmly implanted, and round *that* men may gather, without being as now subjected to the shameful alternative of perjury or cruelty,—treachery to human institutions or to the human brotherhood,—mental reservation and disgraceful shuffling, or risk of assassination.

O! terrible is this reign of cowardly self-interest in our Atlantic cities, which leaves them destitute of political leadership. More terrible this degradation of the public mind, which makes such a reign possible for an hour. But a change is at hand, favored alike by the American financial crisis and the Asiatic military convulsion. The East may not always be devoted to opium, nor the West to cotton. Let us, as those on the firmness of whose thought and purpose now depend the commercial and political welfare and honor of our country, through many a coming crisis, in the fate of our millions of enslaved producers of cotton, never yield a hair's breadth of our demand for the immediate abolition of slavery. The producer of cotton is fit and ready; it is the owner of the field who needs preparation,—the very preparation of heart supplied by our continual demand. What an example is set us among the leading minds of Great Britain!—those great and tender hearts, whom our religious and political traffickers in human nature tell us

hold the producers of coal in a worse than negro slavery. Let these unhappy slaveholders, and their more unhappy Northern subalterns, as well as our friends in Europe, take note of the difference between the ties that bind the noble to his neighbors, under the laws of England, and the chain that links the American slaveholder to his slave, under the laws of the United States. To furnish both with the means of comparison, we send to one side of the Atlantic a supply of Stroud's Digest of the Slave Laws, and refer the other to the relations of the Marchioness of Londonderry with the industry of the County of Durham, where her strength is united with that of the free producers of coal, for education, for humanity, for safety, —for every form of that great charity which 'seeketh not her own.' We have caused the report of her proceedings at Seaham to be reprinted for the benefit of that class of our Americans who mistake slaveholding for nobility. The reading of Lady Londonderry's speech, (with that of Mr. Nicholson, one of the company,) after the dinner at which she sat, at her own table, for communion of heart with three thousand invited guests, 'because their welfare was necessary to her peace;' 'because any calamity befalling them would break her heart;' 'because they enabled her to contribute her part to the development of the commercial prosperity of the country;' 'because she wished, in return, to devote to the care of their interests a woman's head and a woman's heart,'—will suggest to every one the value of such a woman's testimony to our cause. She has given it in the following letter:

SEAHAM, December 19, 1857.

To MRS. CHAPMAN:

MADAM,—I have been much pleased and gratified by your kind letter, and the receipt of the three volumes of the Liberty Bell, the perusal of which has greatly interested me, and for which I beg you to receive my best thanks. I fear you have formed too flattering an opinion of me from reading the account

of my intercourse with the people I employ. Feeling deeply the responsibility of my position, presiding over great commercial concerns and numbers of people, I have endeavored humbly to advise them on points connected with their welfare, and have endeavored to make mutual good feeling a bond of union and interest. But I have not the least pretension to talent or literary capability. I regret, therefore, that it is wholly out of my power to advance your object, or do justice to the subject. It seems, however, to me, that even if gifted ones were to write volumes, they could never surpass these glorious lines of Campbell:

'Eternal Nature! when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land,
When life sprung startling at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and Man the lord of all,
Say, was that lordly form inspired by thee
To wear eternal chains and bow the knee?
Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
Yoked with the brutes and fettered to the soil,
Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold?
No! Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould.
She bade no wretch his thankless labors urge,
Nor, trembling, take his pittance and the scourge,
No homeless Lybian on the stormy deep
To call upon his native land, and weep.'

Again thanking you for your kindness,
I remain, madam,
Your obliged and obedient
FRANCES ANNE VANE LONDONDERRY.

We have spoken of the corruption of churches as exposing them to the ridicule of the secular newspapers. A pregnant proof of this was afforded in our list of books by the Bible and Book of Common Prayer of the American Episcopal Church. After daring to hold slaves in silence against the universal Christian conscience, the remonstrances of her own best members, and the testimony of leading prelates of the Church of England, she now exhibits herself, in these editions, in the attitude of falsifying the work of a great painter which rebukes her unfaithfulness. Hav-

ing trampled under foot what she declares to be the image of God, she expurgates from her copy of a great religious picture the slave in supplication to the Redeemer for his freedom, which fixes attention, in the original, upon her sin. She blasphemes the name of Christ, by giving its sanction to the infidelity of her members: else it would hardly be worth mentioning that she disgraces Ary Scheffer by her influence for evil upon the booksellers who have used his name, while circulating a pro-slavery picture in hers and in the name of her Bishops, in connection with her most solemn services.

'But are you sure that the Northern Bishops, in whose name this caricature of Christianity has flooded the South, are aware of the use slavery is making of them?'

'Verily, the wolf is in the fold, and the shepherd does not know it!'

Is it for a moment to be supposed that if the Episcopal Church of the United States wished to abolish slavery, she could not lead the way? It is the will that is wanting. Let her members learn from the writer of the following letter, the state of feeling that should ray out in their every act:—

HALIFAX, Oct. 13, 1857.

MRS. CHAPMAN:

DEAR MADAM—I fear you will have thought me tardy in acknowledging the beautiful book you sent me in acknowledgment of my cushion sent to the Boston Bazaar last year. I did not know, until it was far advanced, that sofa cushions were amongst the list of undesirable articles, and the 'Liberty Bell' found me busy at work on a patched bed-quilt, which is now on its way to you.* I valued it at five pounds, but the Committee altered the price to six guineas. Should any purchaser think it worth either price, I shall be very well pleased. Whilst sitting at my

* This wonderfully beautiful proof of patient industry and profound sympathy for suffering humanity is henceforth an heir-loom in the family of Mrs. Bracken's American correspondent, who was privileged to pay the highest price.

work, I thought there must be as many stitches in my quilt as you have slaves in America, and I counted the stitches in one row, and found them to be on an average twenty-five, and each square having four sides, made one hundred; there are three squares in a box, and thirty-five boxes in width, and forty-two in length, so that it was a simple question in multiplication, the simple result of which is, that there are about twenty times as many slaves in America as there are stitches in my quilt; and when I thought of the helpless misery endured by every individual slave through a life-time of unprotected bondage, and thought of the omniscient eye of a just and holy and righteous and merciful God, who looks down alike on the oppressor and the oppressed, I cannot express the appalling sensation which comes over me.

Oh that America would take warning by the fearful judgment of India!—for although we have not the fearful guilt of enslaving our fellow-subjects there, yet we have in a great measure withheld from them God's holy word and gospel, Mammon has been the chief pursuit, and the poor heathen have been uncared for in a great measure. We have had missionaries there, it is true, but they have been treated by the great majority much as the abolitionists have been treated in America, and now God hath risen from his place to vindicate his own cause; and it seems as if our whole nation had suddenly been awakened to a sense of its guilt before God. Last Wednesday was a day of public humiliation and prayer, and I trust we shall from this time be a reformed people. Contributions have been poured out for the relief of the survivors, but the dead, whether guilty or innocent, have gone to their last account. Oh that America would take warning!—for if these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

One other thought suggested by my quilt I had almost forgotten. You will see that the *lights* and the *darks* and the *blacks* are all arranged so as to act, or rather harmonize, in concert; and so would the races, I doubt not; for our Heavenly Father made every thing beautiful and good and equal; and when I remember God could in a moment, by his almighty power, reverse every thing which is wrong and set it right, it is a lesson beyond my feeble comprehension; but I think that England is made an example of, that America may take warning; but I have never yet

heard or seen any plan how the great difficulty of doing away with slavery could be accomplished. In our own case, we paid the money down, but we had not a quarter as many as America has. Now we have sometimes a national collection, and sometimes think we might have an European subscription, and make a sort of compromise with the Southern States, in which there are doubtless many slaveholders who would be thankful to be rid of so foul a name, and who could say, as our own Cowper said,

'I would much rather be myself the slave.'

I sometimes think if a kind Christian letter were written, and a lithographed copy of it sent to each planter or slave-owner, requesting an answer from each, stating on what terms they would individually be willing to emancipate their slaves, perhaps out of the answers received, some definite plan may be hit upon, so as to effect a revolution which would benefit all parties, and injure none.

I hope you will excuse this long letter. When an old woman has patched a quilt, she longs to tell some of the thoughts which occupied her mind during the progress of the work. Hoping that success will soon reward your efforts, believe me

Yours, very truly,

MARGARET BRACKEN.

This welcome and most cheering letter suggests important thoughts. And, first, our slaveholders, however unprincely in their notions, represent themselves to be the princes of the country, and, therefore, no subscription, European or other, could buy out their claim. Unfounded as it is, it is not yet in the market. We see by the disgraceful experience of well-nigh seventy years, what comes of any sort of compromise on this subject. It is a knowledge of the universal ill effect of such compromises that originated in morals the general principle of refusing to make them. Whatever right yields to wrong is just so much gain to wrong, and loss to right. But a European-aid-subscription to carry on the *propaganda* of the American Anti-Slavery Society,—to establish its press in every State, South as well as North, (not by force,

but by seeking in every one of them 'who there is worthy and abiding there,')—to strengthen and aid our members by thousands to preach the Gospel of Anti-Slavery for its own sake in all its purity, not weakened down to promote partisan or sectarian interests,—to fight the slave's battle against the tyrant of the plantation, the Senate-House and the Church, with those weapons of light and love which alone can save our land from its million multiplied curse;—*this* sort of subscription,—conveying the reprobation of slavery and the sympathetic public opinion of the world to the only effectual channel, under the direction of persons of undivided allegiance to Liberty, for twenty years bound for its sake to be sacrificed—of persons who, unlike the pretenders that would yoke the cause to their own miserable interests, have nought to gain and all to lose—but their magnificent object,—this kind of subscription would indeed afford an assurance of the speedy extinction of slavery. Hear from Clarkson, in the address we have before alluded to, what a front is presented by the adverse ranks, and consider whether any other than such persons as these are likely to risk their elections, their chance of office under the next Administration, their chance of getting subscribers to their newspapers, their chance of ordination and settlement, their chance of manufacturing employment and mercantile success,—briefly, *any* of their chances in life, by fighting in company with the American Anti-Slavery Society, where the battle joins. The second-rate, the third, fifth, tenth-rate, even to the despicable who make a prey of the cause while professing to love it, will all come lagging after in their degree, as fast as first-rate men can make it for their interest to do it, or disgraceful to them not to do it. But we say to Europe as to America—'Help thou our central battle!' Pay your subscriptions to Francis Jackson, Esq., Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery So-

ciety, 31 Hollis st., Boston,—the same house that, in 1835, he offered for the cause to the fury of a city ruled by slaveholders. It has been the home of fugitive slaves ever since, as his fortune has been one main stay of the cause, and Mr. Jackson is also Treasurer of our Vigilance Committee. But five pounds paid over to him in the former capacity is, in America, worth a thousand paid to him in the latter. Having been, all these twenty-four years, his sub-treasurers for the American Anti-Slavery Society, we renewedly offer our aid in that capacity: and may the results of this year's financial campaign exceed those of the past a thousand fold!—and we promise our friend that a kind and Christian letter, agreeably to her suggestion, shall once again be sent to each individual slaveholder, though their gagging bills have empowered postmasters to open letters and parcels, that not a murmur against slavery may be allowed to transpire among their neighbors, the non-slaveholders of the South, while it goes on in all its miseries and horrors.

Would you know what these miseries and horrors are, in one of the border slave States, where they are 'mild,' (to use the word of men interested in their undisturbed continuance,) subscribe for the National Anti-Slavery Standard, ($2.00 in America, 15f in France, 12s in England,) the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and read the pathetic tale of the 'young Abolitionist.' It is the essential life, the actual experience of heart, of one of our number, grandly endowed in mind and heart, who yet lives to serve the cause. May she live to see its triumph! What she has written respects a phase of the miseries and horrors of Southern life that does not come near enough to our hearts: the suffering, namely, of the young and the good slaveholders, held in bondage like very slaves by this frightful iniquity, who are feeling their way to freedom through

obstacles as great and as painful as those that bar the way of the fugitive. Give us the means of putting them in a way to free their bondmen. It is *incomparably* better than to pay us money as a Vigilance Committee. The very pro-slavery community is so far wrought upon by the life Abolitionists have lived in it, that it sends fugitive slaves off safely to the British dominions. Pay your subscriptions to us and those we represent, rather than to others, for the reason that we alone obey at once that holy Scripture which says, 'Let mine outcasts dwell with thee!' . . . 'in the gate' . . . 'where it liketh them best!' putting in no demurrer of next year or next election, next Convocation, General Assembly, or Convention; but saying to every such device by which Slavery turns its treadmill, and keeps the clothes of its advocates, 'Get thee behind me, Satan!'* It is better, we have said, to save master and slave the trouble of the flight and the hunting, by acting through the master for the abolition of slavery by the emancipation of his slaves. Any one who had been present with us this year must have been rejoiced to see our cause so greatly strengthened from the South, in the person of an honored associate who has overcome the difficulties that daunt alike nations, politicians, and economists, timid good men and brutal sinners, when they take this subject in hand. She says:—

'I signed and put on record a full deed of emancipation, and gave a copy of the same to each of the servants, and kept one myself. I have, by a simple act of justice, made them happy, and this makes me happy. Their gratitude and affection were touching. They covered me with glory and love—they clung to me, and strewed my path with blessings, and baptized me afresh with tears.'

* Speaking of the various parties claiming to be Abolitionists, Mr. WILLIAM CHAMBERS, in his recent work on 'American Slavery and Color,' says:—'There is only one entitled to be called true Abolitionists; all the others postponing the question of emancipation, or subordinating it to certain political and religious considerations.'

We call with confidence upon every good heart, the wide world over, to help us to unite all the young and good of the South, slaveholders, non-slaveholders,* and freedmen, into a sacred, invincible band; and out of their lips 'shall be ordained strength to still the enemy and the avenger.'

And let all who unite in an ANNUAL EUROPEAN SUBSCRIPTION TO THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY remember that we are not asking it as a means of sparing our own fortunes. These are in use, or paid over, or lost in this cause. What we desire is the means of enlarging our operations, of adding to our instrumentalities, of carrying the cause into the Southern States in a way which has never been attempted, because till now, neither the hour nor the men had come. Men were mad and malicious who said to us, twenty-five years ago, 'Why do you not go to the South?' The opportunity then was, as it still is, at our own door, but we have followed as it opened, whithersoever it led, till now, when they cease to wish us hence, strengthened in their change of mind, it is well for us to go.

We have been led to speak of a European Subscription, by the terms of our friend's proposition; not because the plan is new, but for the sake of greatly extending it. And as we always have enjoyed the constant and continually increasing sympathy and support of friends abroad, we are sure we shall still do so, for the time and in the measure that the cause requires, and we remain its servants. But we assure our beloved European coadjutors that, from the moment we perceive the remotest chance that their contributions may become other than a stimulus to our own, they may depend on our being the first to suggest their discontinuance.

Time would fail us to carry our friends through the

* See APPENDIX, No. III., for evidence of a hopeful state of heart among non-slaveholders of the South.

whole vista of this year's experience. We must not even attempt to describe all the beautiful and precious gifts which bind in one memory the household hearths of our own land with those of England and Scotland—of Ireland and Wales, and bring from the cities of France, the mountains of Switzerland, and the ruins of Italy, a blessing on America. We can but renew the expression of our thanks to each beloved name that graces our list of acknowledgments.

A special table of Italian art was wholly supplied by our dear friend Mrs. Stowe, who with her family and friends made it as productive to the cause, by their personal aid at the time, as by their previous generosity in furnishing it. The following letter will be every where read with deep interest and satisfaction:—

LETTER FROM MRS. STOWE TO MRS. CHAPMAN.

BROOKLYN, Jan. 29th, 1858.

My Dear Friend:—In regard to those who contributed to help the Italian table.

Dr. Eddison, when in Rome, handed me £5, and young Monod,* in Marseilles, collected 60 francs among his school fellows. . Five francs were given me by the school in the Faubourg St. Antoine, Paris, in a very affecting way. I visited the school in the morning, and during recess the little fellows, who have each of them two sous to buy their dinner, contributed, some of them half, and some the whole of it, to send to the poor American Slave. It was entirely voluntary and unsolicited, and no particular appeal had been made to them on the subject.

Grant now that this can never reach them in any tangible form—grant that it was a wholly useless effort—is this generous impulse, this childish self-sacrifice, of no account? I confess it rebukes the colder calculations of our wiser years. It is a tear of the French child dropped on the chain of the African—powerless in itself, but precious in the eyes

* It will please this dear young friend to know that his little gift was more than doubled to the cause by Mrs. Stowe's judicious investment.

of God. As an appeal to His strength, it will not be in vain.

My daughters send you their love.

Ever affectionately yours,

H. B. STOWE.

Valued and beautiful as were all the gifts to the cause, circumstances give to a few a special power over our hearts. One of these was the much coveted engraving sent by Miss Yates, of Liverpool — the Anglo Saxon bearing the African to higher regions, now in the possession of Samuel May, Esq. The venerable James Inglis, of Dumfermline, who at the age of 94 cherishes his early visions for the cause of the world's freedom, and now sends that cause a gift of price because he thinks it may be his last, binds us thereby afresh to the resolutions of our youth. The children of the Belfast and Bristol schools, and the inmates of the Bristol blind asylum, will rejoice to learn that their good example has wrought upon the minds of children and others in America; and we were gratefully touched to observe the effect in a box of beautifully knitted infant's hosiery from the children of our own orphan asylum. It was also profoundly affecting to us to receive gifts from so many of the descendants of the earliest English abolitionists; and we entreat the family of Dr. Thompson, of Edinburgh, the first Scottish advocate of immediate emancipation, to receive our thanks for their remembrances. We entreat also of Miss Bonham-Carter, the grand-daughter of William Smith—(the friend and supporter in Parliament of Wilberforce,)—to whose generosity and artistic power we owe the beautiful copy of Greuze, (now in the possession of Miss Chapman, of Chauncy place,) to accept the thanks of those she never beheld, for a gift that will never be forgotten. The splendid gift of Messrs. Naylor & Co., of Sheffield, through our valued friend and co-laborer in the cause, Edmund Ben-

zon, Esq., sent last year, but which arrived only in season for this, receives especial thanks for its rare perfection as well as its intrinsic value.

We entreat Madame Keller to convey to all her Swiss and French coadjutors, the expression of what is felt by us, whom they have so essentially aided in the service of the cause. Monsieur Labouchere's admired picture of the youth of Luther was the fitting emblem of the union of heart of Protestant France with Anti-Slavery America. Our French friends will be gratified to learn that the beautiful etagère that accompanied their choice contributions, became the token of our new year's wishes to Mrs. Loring, our beloved and absent friend, who took the initiative in the First Bazaar, with Mrs. Child.

We owe most especial gratitude and deep respect to our venerated and beloved friends, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel May, who, at a moment most inconvenient to themselves and most indispensable to our preparations, placed their mansion in Franklin Place at the disposition of the cause.

As reluctantly as if words could do justice to our feelings and our cause, we bring our report to a close. Can we do it better than with the legend of the iron hammer that came with the gifts from Scotland?—'STRIKE OFF THE CHAIN!'

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, Weymouth, Mass.
MARY MAY, Hollis St., care Sam'l May, Esq., Boston.
LOUISA LORING, E. G. Loring, Esq., State St. "
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, Brookline, Mass.
L. MARIA CHILD, care D. L. Child, Esq., Wayland.
ANNE WARREN WESTON, Rome, Italy.
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, { care of Hon. G. R. Russell, West Roxbury.
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, { care Hon. James Robbins, Milton, Mass.
HELEN E. GARRISON, { care of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Dix Place, Boston.

Ann Rebecca Bramhall, { care of Cornelius Bramhall, Esq., New York.

Sarah H. Southwick, Portland, Maine.

Mary Willey, No. 13 Minot street, Boston.

Abby Francis, Cambridge, Mass.

Anna Shaw Greene, { care of W. B. Greene, Esq., 21 Hollis St., Boston.

Mary Gray Chapman, 20 Chauncy St., Boston.

Elizabeth Gay, { care Sydney Howard Gay, Esq., New York.

Henrietta Sargent, 156 Tremont St., Boston.

Sarah Russell May, { care of Rev. Samuel May, Leicester, Mass.

Caroline Weston, 3 Place de la Madeleine, Paris.

Susan C. Cabot, Brookline, Mass.

Mary H. Jackson, { care of Edmund Jackson, Esq., Boston.

Sarah Blake Shaw, { care F. G. Shaw, Esq., North Shore, Staten Island, N. Y.

Lydia D. Parker, { care of Rev. Theodore Parker, 1 Exeter Place, Boston.

Eliza F. Eddy, { care of Francis Jackson, Esq., 31 Hollis St. Boston.

Abby Kelley Foster, { care Stephen S. Foster, Esq., Worcester, Mass.

Evelina A. S. Smith, { care of Rev. I. S. Smith, Dorchester, Mass.

Elizabeth Von Arnim, No. 18 South st., Boston.

Augusta King, Salem, Mass.

Eliza H. Apthorp, Germany.

Justine de Peyster Hovey, { care of Charles F. Hovey, Esq., Boston.

Mattie Griffith, Philadelphia.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR 1857.

1 box from LIVERPOOL Ladies' A. S. Society, by W. P. Powell.
1 do. BURY, by the same.
1 do. NOTTINGHAM, Mrs. Eddison.
1 do. DUBLIN, including CORK, and the contributions of the Misses Haughton.
1 do. DUBLIN, (from himself, friends and family,) R. D. Webb.
1 box, WARRINGTON. Mrs. Robson.
1 do. LEEDS, Joseph Lupton,
including 1 do. HALIFAX, Hannah Thorp.
3 boxes, EDINBURGH, Jane Wigham,
including 1 do. LEIGH, " "
1 do. READING, " "
1 do. DUMFERMLINE, " "
1 do. PAISLEY, " "
1 do. PRESTON, " "
1 do. PERTH, Charlotte A. Morton.
1 do. LONDON, Miss Massie,
including contribution of Monsieur Schœlcher.
1 do. BOLTON, Mrs. Roper.
1 do. MANCHESTER, including SHEFFIELD, Miss Whitlegge.
2 boxes, PARIS, (France,) Mdme. Keller.
1 box, SHEFFIELD, Messrs. Naylor & Co.
1 do. ROME, (Italy,) Misses Weston.
1 do. FLORENCE, (Italy,) Mrs. Stowe.
1 do. BRISTOL, (England,) Mrs. Thomas.
1 do. GLASGOW, (Scotland,) Andrew Paton.

—

SMALL PARCELS FROM INDIVIDUALS, RECEIVED AND FORWARDED.

Per Leeds box—one enclosed for Miss Pugh, Philadelphia.

Per Glasgow—1 letter, Mrs. Chapman; 1 do. Wendell Phillips; 1 vol., do. do.; 1 vol., Samuel May, Jr.; 1 knit Waistcoat, H. C. Wright; 1 do. do., Wendell Phillips; 1 book and note, Mrs. Potts, Norristown; 1 Parcel, J. Miller McKim; 1 do. Mrs. Asa Gray, Cambridge.

Per Manchester—3 packages, Parker Pillsbury; 1 package, Samuel May, Jr.; 1 do. Standard; 1 do. Wm. L. Garrison.

Rome—1 do. R. W. Weston.

—

HOME CONTRIBUTIONS.

Boxes and Parcels received from

N. Winslow, Portland, 1 box.
C. Joy, Hopedale, 1 do.
S. B. Shaw, Staten Island, 2 do.
S. Southwick, Portland, 1 do.
Children of Boston Female Orphan Asylum, by the Matron, 1 box.
Mrs. Earle, Worcester, 1 box.
Luther Melendy, Amherst, N. H., 1 do.
Friends in Duxbury, 1 do.
Catherine A. F. Stebbins, Rochester, 1 do.
Elizabeth Gay, New York, 1 do.
Miss Sampson, by R. C., Dorchester, 1 do.
Christopher Needham, Boston.
Friends, Hingham, 1 chest refreshments.
Mrs. Bradish, Upton, 1 do. do.
Mrs. Castell, Boston, 1 do. confectionery.
Miss Remond and Miss Putnam, Salem, 1 do. refreshments.
Mrs. McLauthlin, Hanover, 1 parcel.
Mrs. Hatch, Portsmouth, 1 box.
Elizabeth Mountfort, Portland, 1 box.
D. N. Brown, O. Brown, L. D. Nickerson, } Kingsboro', N. Y., 1 package, by Mr. Wallcut.
George S. Winslow, Boston, 1 package, by Mrs. Parker.
Messrs. Kane & Johnson, S. Boston, Messrs. Morey & Smith, Haverhill street, Boston, valuable contributions, by Mrs. Ober.
Friends in Brooklyn, Connecticut, 1 package refreshments.

—

DONATIONS TO GENERAL PURPOSES OF THE BAZAAR.

Mrs. F. M. Robbins,	$5 00
Mrs. Loring	7 00
Mr. Wallcut, sales of Liberty Bell	50 00
Mrs. Philbrick, sales	25 00
A. T. G. Phillips	20 00

Miss Q. (sales,) by M. G. C..... 3 00
F. Jackson.....20 00
M. G. Chapman.....10 00
Mrs. B. Hunt.....60ff
R. F. Wallcut, (sales,).....38 91
Sales after Worcester Fair, by Mr. May.....10 00
Do. do. do. do. do.....10 00
From Leeds.....£4 5 6
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Perrin Scarborough.....1 00
H. C. Robinson, (England,).....24 00
Mrs. Hatch.....11 50
Misses Andrews, Newburyport..... 5 00
Miss Annie Alley, Lynn..... 5 00
E. Hebard, W. Randolph, Vt..... 1 00
Ladies' A. S. Society, Warren, Ms.....13 28
George Robinson, Paddock's Grove..... 0 43
Bullard & Carter, Boston.....10 00

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John Mawson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.....£2 0 0
Joseph Cowan, do. 1 0 0
T. Atkinson..... 1 0 0
T. P. Backess..... 0 5 0
Edward Bagehot, by M. A. Estlin, through A. W. Weston.....5 0 0
Dr. Eddison, by Mrs. Stowe..... 5 0 0
Monod Jeune, by the same..... 60ff
School of Faubourg St. Antoine, same..... 5ff

—

DONORS TO THE LIBERTY BELL.

Sarah Pugh	$3 00	Mrs. J. M. Robbins	5 00
H. Sargent	10 00	Mrs. M. M. Brooks	5 00
Andrew Robeson	10 00	Daniel Ricketson	5 00
Mrs. Mandell	5 00	Charles F. Hovey	20 00
J. G. Palfrey	5 00	By Mrs. Bradish of Upton—	
Joseph Cotton	10 00	Mrs. C. Aldrich	0 50
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M. W. Emerson, L. A. S. S., Cummington, by S. May, Jr.,	1 00	Amos Cummings	5 00

Mary H. Watson, Lakeland, Minnesota Territory,	20 00	Elisha Clap	5 00
Mrs. Loring	10 00	Edmund Quincy	10 00
Maria Marriott	5 00	Mrs. R. H. Foster	2 00
Misses Williams, by J. Lupton,	£1 0 0	Nathaniel Barney	10 00
A. T. G. Phillips	10 00	Sales	36 00
Richard Clap	5 00	A friend in New Bedford, through Mrs. D. Ricketson,	1 00
		Victor Schœlcher	60ff

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extract from a speech of Hon. ELI THAYER, of Massachusetts, delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 7, 1858:—

'It has been asserted that the Yankees who go into the slave States oftentimes turn slaveholders, and outdo the Southern men themselves. I have no doubt that they outdo them, if they do anything in that line at all. [Laughter.] The Yankee has never become a slaveholder, unless he has been forced to do it by the social relations of the slave State where he lived; and the Yankee who has become a slaveholder, has, every day of his life thereafter, felt in his very bones the bad economy of the system. It could not be otherwise. Talk about our Yankees, who go to Central America, becoming slaveholders! Why, sir, we can buy a negro power, in a steam-engine, for ten dollars, [laughter,] and we can clothe and feed that power for one year for five dollars; [renewed laughter;] and are we the men to give $1,000 for an African slave, and $150 a year to feed and clothe him?

'No, sir. Setting aside the argument about sentimentality and about philanthropy on this question, setting aside all poetry and fiction, he comes right down to the practical question—is it profitable? The Yankee replies, "not at all." Then there is no danger of men who go from Boston to Central America ever owning slaves, unless they are compelled to by their social relations there. If a man goes from Boston in-

to Louisiana, and nobody will speak to him unless he has a slave; nobody will invite him to a social entertainment unless he owns a negro; and if he cannot get a wife unless he has a negro, then, sir, very likely he may make up his mind to own a negro. [Laughter.] But I tell you that he will repent of it every day he has him. He cannot whistle "Yankee Doodle" with the same relish as before. He cannot whittle in the same free and easy manner. He used to cut with the grain, with the knife-edge from him; *now*, he cuts across the grain, with the knife-edge towards him. The doleful fact that he owns a negro, is a tax upon every pulsation of his heart.'

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No. II.

Extract from a speech delivered at the State House, in the Hall of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, at the anniversary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Friday evening, Jan. 29, 1858, by WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq.:—

'A *practical* body, this Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. It has written all its requests on the statute-book. You know what the coon said to Captain Scott: "If it is you, Captain John Scott, I will come down." The Legislature may just as well "come down"! (Applause.) This body will yet write the epitaph of a recreant Judge of Probate. This body will yet, over or through the Supreme Court bench, annihilate the Dred Scott decision. This body, over or through the Supreme Court bench of judges, will yet make Massachusetts too hot ground for the slave-hunter to tread. It is written on the graves at Plymouth; it is written in the dust of Bunker Hill; it is written in Sam Adams and John Hancock. Treason in the blood!—it will crop out in this generation. Mark my words! If you do not put it on the statute-book to-day, you will in time,—those of you who belong to this Legislature that meets here to-morrow. We came here, and asked for the repeal of the marriage law, and they laughed at us:—it is wiped off the statute-book. We came, and asked that the rights of colored men in the railway cars be secured to them. They laughed at us. Charles Francis Adams had a wiser prognosis, and he advised them to yield. They did. We came to ask for the rights of colored children in the schools. A prominent Republican of the

State, at the head of the Committee, said to me, "I know what you ask is law; but you shall not have it." It is on the statute-book! Well, we shall put several things more there. (Loud cheers.)'

—

No. III.

Extract from the new work, 'The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It.' By Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina. Published at New York, by Burdick, Brothers.

'Non-slaveholders of the South! farmers, mechanics, and workingmen, we take this occasion to assure you that the slaveholders, the arrogant demagogues whom you have elected to offices of honor and profit, have hoodwinked you, trifled with you, and used you as mere tools for the consummation of their wicked designs. They have purposely kept you in ignorance, and have, by moulding your passions and prejudices to suit themselves, induced you to act in direct opposition to your dearest rights and interests. By a system of the grossest subterfuge and misrepresentation, and in order to avert, for a season, the vengeance that will most assuredly overtake them ere long, they have taught you to hate *the abolitionists, who are your best and only true friends.* Now, as one of your own number, we appeal to you to join us in our patriotic endeavors to rescue the generous soil of the South from the usurped and desolating control of these political vampires. Once and forever, at least so far as this country is concerned, the infernal question of slavery must be disposed of; a speedy and perfect abolishment of the whole institution is the true policy which we propose to pursue. Will you aid us, will you assist us, will you be freemen, or will you be slaves? These are questions of vital importance; weigh them well in your minds; come to a prudent and firm decision, and hold yourselves in readiness to act in accordance therewith. You must either be for us or against us—anti-slavery or pro-slavery; it is impossible for you to occupy a neutral ground.'